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ABSTRACT

German borrowing of English words after 1945 is analyzed, focusing on sociolinguistic and linguistic factors, changes English words have undergone in adoption into German, the main areas of borrowing, and the channels through which borrowing has occurred. It is proposed that the most common motives for borrowing are the importation of an object or the prestige value of linguistic knowledge. German attitudes toward loans during this period are generally more moderate than in earlier periods, but some resistance to use of Anglicisms persists. Several types of borrowing are found: assimilated or unassimilated simple loans; loan formations, or translations of the component words in an English compound word; assignment of a new, English-style meaning to an existing German cognate; and pseudo-loans, where English morphemes are used to form words that look English but do not occur in English. English and German phonology, orthography, and grammar are sufficiently different in that English loans must undergo basic changes to allow integration into German. Borrowing has occurred primarily through the mass media and advertising. The influence of English has been considerable in both West and former East Germany. A 36-item bibliography is included. (MSE)

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English in Contact With Other Languages: English Loans in German After 1945

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ENGLISH IN CONTACT WITH OTHER LANGUAGES: ENGLISH LOANS IN GERMAN AFTER 1945

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1. Introduction

German, like many other languages, has absorbed words from different languages during its history. French and Latin have continually contributed to the lexical stock of German but in the twentieth century, particularly since 1945, it has been English, especially American English, which has been the main source of borrowing. Siegel (1989: 334-87) registers an increase in the amount of borrowed words listed in both the Mannheim and Leipzig *Duden Rechtschreibung* volumes from the 14th to the 18th editions only in the case of English. The number of English loans rose from 868 (2.9%) to 1,404 (3.89%). The influence of English has, of course, not restricted itself to German or even the Germanic languages (W. Viereck and Bald 1986). Surveys are provided by Stanforth (1968, 1991), Carstensen (1984), W. Viereck (1984, 1986). It is the purpose of this article to review the phenomenon of borrowing of English loans, outlining the sociolinguistic and linguistic factors that are involved, to examine the changes that English loans have undergone in their adoption by German, to give examples of the main areas where borrowing has taken place and to show the channels through which borrowing is said to have occurred.

1.1 Motives for Borrowing

The most easily understood motive for the borrowing of a word from a foreign language is when the actual object or concept is also imported. This is the case in such English loans as *der Laser*, *der Landrover*, *Lumberjack*, *das Milkshake*, *Marketing*, die *Public Relations*. This is particularly true of certain areas of the vocabulary, e.g. pop and rock music with *LP*, *Band*, *Hit*, *Song*, *Rock*, *Pop*, *Fan*, *Album*, *Single*, *Star* being the ten most frequent English words (Ortner 1982: 264) and fashion, where out of 69 loan words, 40 were English, e.g. *Bermudas*, *Body-Stocking*, *Coat*, *Jumpsuit*, *Lambswool*, *Patchwork*, *Separates*, *Sweatshirt*, *T-Shirt*, *wash and wear* (Ortner 1981: 236-44). Often,

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however, the motive for borrowing is the desire on the part of certain speakers to show that they know a certain language by lacing their own speech with borrowings. Foreign words have a greater prestige than native ones in certain area, e.g. in fashion, when *Accessoires* is used instead of *Zubehör*, *Line* instead of *Linie*, *Sailor* instead of *Matrose* and *navyblau* instead *marineblau* (Ortner 1982: 231-36). When crazes start in the English speaking world and spread to other countries the English designation usually spreads as well, e.g. *Skateboarding*, *Aquaplaning*, *Aerobics*.

1.2 Loan Words and Fremdwörter

The post 1945 English loans fall generally into the pattern of being unassimilated or partially assimilated loans (*Fremdwörter*), whereas older assimilated loans (*Lehnwörter*), e.g. *Mauer*, *Pfeil*, (from Latin *mûrus*, *pîlum*) are only recognizable as loans by historical evidence and etymology. Unassimilated and partially assimilated loans very often show features which are not present in German. These can be: 1. pronunciation, e.g. some English sounds, for instance [dʒ] and initial [s] do not occur in standard German; 2. spelling, many letters and combination of letters do not occur in German: *clever*, *Camping*, *Leasing*, *Toast*; 3. inflection, many English loans have a pl. ending *-s*, *Party*, *Parties*. These criteria are not always a clear guide and are modified in several ways to integrate the loans into German (see section 3.0-3.6). In the case of pronunciation, approximate sounds in German are used to substitute for English sounds not available in German, e.g. [ʊʃ] for [dʒ], [z] for initial [s] and [ɛ] for [æ]. Spelling becomes altered to conform to German rules, *cl-* is replaced by *kl-*, *Clown* by *Klown*, English *strike* was already altered to *Streik* in 1884. Some English nouns when they are borrowed do not take the ending *-s* but conform to the German inflectional pattern, those in *-er* take no ending in the pl., e.g. *Gangster*. Form is not always a guide to whether a word is a loan or not, for instance *killen*, *Lift* conform in pronunciation, orthography and inflection to German patterns but it is only the knowledge that these words are similar in form and meaning to Engl. *to kill* and *lift* that tells us they were probably borrowed. Often native speakers of German are uncertain as to which words are unassimilated loans when given an arbitrary list of loans and native words. For instance in one

such test 97% considered *Eventualität* an unassimilated loan, 86% *Impression*, *Mannequin*, 73% *Interview*, 68% *killen*, *Streß* ,52%, *Gangster*, 45% *mixen*, 37% *Pullover*, 30%. *Test*, 22% *Start* (Augst 1977: 66f.).

English loans are also to be expected in the speech of some speakers, e.g. those who are educated, for instance politicians, academics, and in talking about certain topics, for instance politics, economics, rather than by other speakers and in other topics. Since they are more used by educated speakers with a good knowledge of English their proper use tends to be a shibboleth identifying members of different groups. W. Viereck (1980: 272ff.) found that of a list of 42 Anglicisms, or compounds containing English components, the five most easily understood were: *Testfahrzeug*, *Tip*, *Fitnessraum*, *Live-Übertragung*, *Callgirl*, and the five least understood were: *Ghostwriter*, *Disengagement*, *Lobby*, *Impeachment*, *Split-Level-Bauweise*. In a survey of what various loans might mean some speakers of German confused the *set* in *Jetset* with the *set* in *Twinset* and regarded the former as 'combination of clothes'. Some thought that Ghostwriter was a 'writer of ghost stories'. *Streß*, was confused with *Dreß*: by some speakers. and *Dressman* was regarded as someone 'who trains (*dressiert*) dogs' (W. Viereck 1980: 315f.). Carstensen and Hengstenberg (1983) in a study of 50 English words found that 30 were understood correctly by 60 per cent of their informants. The words that were understood correctly by over 90 per cent of informants were: *Surfing*, *Skateboard*, *Tramper*, *Discoroller*, *Lunch* and by over 80 per cent: *Boom*, *Mixed Pickles*, *Jogging*, *Know-How*, *Top Ten*, *Pumps*, *Sideboard*. At the other end of the scale the following were understood correctly by under 30 per cent of the informants: *Deadline*, *Brain Drain*, *Underdog*. The criteria of topicality is important in the understanding of English words. As we shall see, however, some deviations from English practice in the usage of some English loans have become standard in German.

1.3 Attitudes to loans

Reactions to loans in general in German have always varied over the centuries. After the establishing of the united German Empire in 1871 nationalistic feeling ran high and there was a reaction against accepting loans. In 1874 the Postmaster-General Heinrich von Stephan (1831-97)

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replaced 760 official postal and transport terms by German equivalents, for instance *Eilbrief* for *Expressbrief*, *einschreiben* for *rekommandieren*, and *Postkarte* for *Korrespondenzkarte*, Then in 1885 Hermann Riegel (1834-1900) formed the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein* ('General German Language Society'), one of whose tasks from then on was to stem the tide of loans and suggest German words to substitute for foreign ones. A large number of 'Germanicizing dictionaries' (*Verdeutschungswörterbücher*) were produced. One of the more successful coiners was Otto Sarrazin (1842-1921) who was responsible for introducing *Abteil* for *Coupé*, *Bahnsteig* for *Perron* and *Fahrkarte* for *Billett*. This tradition of purism continued into the twentieth century. During the Nazi period, in fact, there were many cries to reject borrowing but Hitler himself eventually forbade the witchhunt for foreign words. He himself used many loans for specific propaganda purposes. They lent his statements and speeches a pseudo-scientific air very often they clouded the listeners' reason since they did not know exactly what he meant when he talked about *Emanzipation*, *Germanisation*, *Inflation*, *Intelligenz*, *Propaganda*, *Sterilisation*, *Zentralisation* (Von Polenz 1967b). After 1945 more moderate views are to be found among lexicographers and societies such as the *Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache* expressly forbade any 'witch hunt' of foreign words. The Duden volumes are happy to accept assimilated loans, especially, as technical terms, if they are part of a specialist jargon. They can sometimes be more neutral than native words and provide a source of stylistic variation. Some lay opinions, however, against the use of Anglicisms do still exist and represent a wide spectrum of reasons, ranging from revealing a 'laziness of thinking', 'besmirching of the language', through 'kow-towing to the Americans', 'separating groups in society' to 'endangering national identity' (Stickel 1984: 43-47). In the answers to a questionnaire published in two regional papers about modern German 77.7 per cent of those who replied agreed with the statement: 'Es werden insgesamt zu viele Fremdwörter gebraucht' ('Too many foreign words are used'), with only 18.7 per cent agreeing and 3.6 per cent abstaining. In some quarters the opposition to foreign words dies hard, although speakers do not distinguish between foreign words and technical vocabulary which is in general only known to those are interested in a specific vocabulary area.

2. Types of Borrowing

Before we deal with integration of Anglicisms in German we will outline a typology of borrowing which we will use in our discussion of loans. The basic scheme goes back to Betz (1974), but developed between 1936 and 1949. A good discussion is given in Seebold (1981: 194-217). The English terminology is derived from Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953). Most of the examples are taken from Carstensen (1965).

Simple loans may be unassimilated, e.g. *smart*, or else assimilated, e.g. *killen*. We have already shown how it is difficult to draw the line between these two types. In both cases, however, the original form of the loan is easily discernible. Loan formations on the other hand attempt in varying degrees to represent the English words and affixes by German ones. In these cases the English words are mostly compounds, *floodlight*, or derived forms comprising a base plus an affix. If each part of the English word is rendered literally by its German counterpart we may speak of a loan translation (*Lehnübersetzung*), e.g. *Flutlicht* from *floodlight*, *Gehirnwäsche* from *brain washing*, *Geschmacksknospen* from *taste buds*, *brandneu* from *brand new*, *Eierkopf* from *egg-head*, and *Spätentwickler* from *late developer*. If the rendering of the English word is only partially literal, e.g. *Wolkenkratzer*, literally *cloud scraper*, for *sky-scraper*, then we speak of loan rendition (*Lehnübertragung*). Other examples are: *Marschflugkörper* 'cruise missile', *Schlafstadt* 'dormitory town', *Urknalltheory* 'Big Bang theory'. The example of *Untertreibung* for 'understatement' which is often given is according to W. Viereck (1986: 118) to be dated from 1910. If on the other hand nothing of the English word is literally translated but an attempt is made at an interpretation of its meaning by an approximate translation, then we speak of loan creation (*Lehnschöpfung*), for instance, *Luftkissenfahrzeug* for *hovercraft*, *Nietenhose* for *jeans*, *Klimaanlage* for *air-conditioning*, and *Holzkohlengrill* for *barbecue*. W. Viereck (1986: 118) feels dubious about loan creations and words if they really belong to borrowing at all since all their components come from the native language. Carstensen (1983: 22) rejects this category as well, preferring to say that that, for instance, German *Luftkissenfahrzeug* merely 'renders' Engl. *hovercraft*. Kirkness (1984: 22f.) also rejects the category of loan creation from borrowing.

Another frequent type of borrowing is semantic borrowing (*Lehnbedeutung*). A German word which already has one or more meanings is given a new meaning on the model of an English meaning of the cognate word. For instance *feuern* and *to fire* both mean 'to shoot (at)' but the extension of meaning in English to 'to dismiss from a job' has now also been taken on by the German word. *Realisieren* which in German was for a long time only used for 'to make possible' is now often used in its English sense of 'to understand clearly, become aware of', *kontrollieren* in the sense of 'to control' is used alongside its other meaning of 'to check', *buchen* in the sense of 'to book (a room etc.)', although originally borrowed in the eighteenth century, has vastly increased in use after 1945, *herumhängen* can be used of people who are 'hanging around', as in English, and not merely of things, *das Paket* is used for a '(political) package', e.g. *Steuerpaket*, *Sozialpaket* on the model of English.

The last category of borrowing is one which, as yet, seems mainly illustrated by examples of English loans in German after 1945. This is the pseudo-loan (*Scheinentlehnung*, *Sekundärentlehnung*) where English morphemes are used to produce words which look English but which do not occur in English. Some of these are the products of the advertising industry. The most famous of these is *Twen*, from Engl. *twenty* meaning 'someone in his or her twenties'. Others are *Dressman* 'male counterpart to mannequin' (male model)', *Showmaster* 'compere', possibly formed by analogy with *Quizmaster*, *Pullunder* 'a sleeveless pullover', *Trench* 'trench-coat' and *Mokick* 'a small (50cc) motor bike with a kickstarter', which is a blend of *a* and *Kickstarter* (Hannah 1988). This is naturally rejected by Kirkness (1984: 23) and others on the grounds that although the elements may be borrowed, and thus 'foreign', the patterning is not but occurs in the native language. Of these four types, loan translation and loan meaning seem the most frequent. Contemporary dictionaries tend not to mark words according to these types. The only exceptions are *Duden Universalwörterbuch* and *Duden: Das Große Wörterbuch* which mark words as being loan translations. Using historical dictionaries can show which of the three types (loan translation, loan rendition, loan meaning) are most frequent. An examination of Paul's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (although it covers the

whole of the historical development of German) yielded 275 loan translations, 66 loan renditions and 44 loan meanings.

3. Integration of Loans

Although English and German both belong to the German language family, sharing many common words and constructions, their sound systems, orthographies and grammars are sufficiently different for English loans to have to undergo basic changes in order to be integrated into German. In the following sections we will show how English loans are changed as they become integrated into German.

3.1 Orthography

The most obvious way in which English loans stand out in German texts is in how they are written. In a few cases English loans happen to be spelt in a manner conforming to German orthography, *killen*, *Lift*. English vowel sounds usually remain unaltered, *Toast*, *Leasing*, *Soul*. The most obvious sign of orthographic integration is the use of capital letters for nouns, *vom Streß in der City zu shoppen*. The initial clusters *cl-*, *cr-* *in* English correspond to *kl-*, *kr-* in German and English initial *k-* before a back vowel corresponds to *k-* in German. Examples can be found of fluctuation between the two spellings: *Klub*, *Club*; *kracken*, *cracken*; *Katgut*, *Catgut*; *Kode*, *Code*, but most loans retain *c*. In English the letter *c* is also used for [s] before front vowels, *cigarette*, *certificate* and these two words are written with *c* and *z* in German, *Cigarette*, *Zigarette*; *Certifikat*, *Zertifikat*. The voiceless postalveoar fricative [ʃ] is spelt *sh* in English but *sch* in German with the result that a few English loans have alternative forms with *sch* *Schock*, *schocking*, *Sketsch*, but the majority retain *sh*, *Show*, *Shaker*, *Shorts*. In *schrinken*, *Schrapnell*, both older loans, only *sch* occurs. English word final *-ss* is usually written *ß*, *Streß*, *Boß*, *Stewardeß*. English loans have introduced the use of final *-y* into German, *Boy*, *Baby*, *Party*, *Rowdy*. The English spelling rule of changing the *y* to *i* before adding the pl. ending *-es*, *Party*, *Parties*, is usually adhered to but very often one finds pl. forms such as *Partys*, *Rowdys* where the rule has not been applied.

Not only letters play a role in orthography but also the hyphen and apostrophe. Many English loans which are hyphenated compounds still

retain the hyphen in German, *Make-up*, or are written as two words *Public Relations*, but most are written as a single orthographic word, *Comeback*, *Babysitter*, *Diskjockey* (cf. Engl. *comeback*, *baby-sitter*, disc-jockey). The genitive apostrophe in English, Tom's hat, is also, under English influence, to be found with the genitive of proper names in German *Faden's Tannen* (street name) and especially in advertisements, *Beck ' s Bier*. This usage probably goes back to at least the nineteenth century. The apostrophe is strictly only allowed when the name ends in *s*, *ß*, *tz*, *x* or *z*, e.g. *Sokrates' Finger*.

3.2 Pronunciation

If an English word contains a sound which is not to be found in German then usually the phonetically nearest sound to it is used by a German speaker. The skill in reproducing English sounds will of course depend on the amount of linguistic training of the speaker concerned. Fink (1980) investigated the pronunciation of 44 English words and phrases and found a great variety of pronunciations for each word. Students, academics and pupils were, not surprisingly, the groups whose pronunciation and understanding of Anglicisms was the best. Younger speakers were also better than older ones. Here we shall discuss some sound substitutions which can be commonly heard among German speakers. In many cases information in dictionaries confirms these observations. For the English diphthongs [eɪ] and [əu] German speakers substitute either [e:] or [ɛ:], e.g. *Trainer*, *Spray*, and [o:], *Soul*, *Toast*. English [ɜ] as in *girl*, *shirt* does not exist in German and often [ø:] is substituted for it. Similarly the short English [ɷ] does not exist in German and [a] is used instead by German speakers in words like *Curry*, *Cutter*, and in a few cases the spelling *a* may be found, e.g, Bags Banny (Bugs Bunny). The English [a] sound is perceived by German speakers to be closer to [ɛ] than [a] and is consequently pronounced [ɛ]. It is sometimes written ä in brand names, *Das Big-Mäc* (hamburger) or to Germanicize foreign words, e.g. *Crăcker*, *Täcks* 'cream cracker', 'tack'. In other cases words containing English [æ] are pronounced [E] but the vowel is spelt a as in English, e.g. the older loan *Tram* (1875) and also modern *trampen* 'to hitch-hike', *Gag*.

The following substitutions are made among the consonants. English [ʤ] does not exist in German and [tʃ] is often used instead,

Job, *Jeans*, *Jet*. The German uvular-r [ʀ] is substituted for the English prevocalic or intervocalic flapped [ɹ], *Trainer*, *Sherry*. Other differences do not result from the absence of the sound in German but from its different distribution. Intervocalic voiceless [s] occurs in German, *reißen*, *wissen*, but in initial position before vowels a voiced [z] is used in standard German (southern colloquial speech does have initial [s] however). In general most German speakers use initial [s] without difficulty in English loans, *Safe*, *Set*, *Single*, *Software*, *Surfing*. However, some words do occur with [z] which is an indication of their integration into German. The prefix *Super-/ super-* which is added to adjectives or nouns, *supermodern*, *Supershow* is also pronounced with [z] , as is the less common prefix *sub-/ sub-*. The English initial consonant cluster *tw-* does not occur in German but with the borrowing of a number of words, *Tweed*, *Twill*, *Twinset*, *twisten* it has been re-introduced into German (Middle High German *tw-* became *zw-* or *qu-* in modern German). Due to a sound change of [s] ---> [ʃ] before initial consonants modern German has no clusters of s + consonant in native words. English on the other hand has only one cluster of [ʃ] + consonant, *shrimp*. Consequently any words borrowed from English with initial [s] + consonant are either felt to be unassimilated loans and pronounced [sp-, st-] etc , e.g. *Spike*, *Star*, or else they become integrated and are pronounced [ʃp-, ʃt-] etc., e.g. *Sport*, *Stop(p)*. The fluctuation of pronunciation can be seen easily be consulting any monolingual dictionary or pronouncing dictionary. A general rule of German phonology is that all consonants in word or morpheme final position are voiceless, which is not the case in English where both voiced and voiceless consonants occur, *cab*. *cap*. This means that final voiced consonants in English loans become devoiced in German speech, *Job* [tʃɔp], *live* [laɪf], cf. *Live-Sendung* [laɪfzendʊŋ] 'live-broadcast'.

3.3 Inflection

English has lost most of the inflectional endings and grammatical categories it originally had, which German has retained, e.g. inflection of adjectives, several different pl. endings, personal endings in verbs and gender in nouns. English loans thus have to be adapted to fit in with this system. Nouns form by far the largest word class of Anglicisms,

followed a long way behind by verbs and adjective. In Oeldorf's list (1990: 49-52) there were 120 nouns, four verbs and four adjectives. A sample from *Der Spiegel* of 10.12.90 brought a similar result: 101 nouns, six adjectives and five verbs. The majority of English loans being nouns presents a great problem of integration. English has no grammatical gender whereas German has three genders; English has mainly the one pl. ending *-s* whereas German has five: *-e*, *-e* accompanied by mutation of the stem vowel, *-er* accompanied by mutation of the stem vowel, *-en* and *-s*.

English loans must, therefore, be assigned to one of the three grammatical genders in German. In many cases this is done by assigning it to the grammatical gender of its nearest German equivalent, e.g. *der Cowboy* (*der Junge*). *die Lady* (*die Dame*), *das Girl* (*das Mädchen*), *der Lift* (*der Aufzug*), *die Show* (*die Schau*), with natural gender also being a major influence where applicable. An exception is *Vamp* which, although it refers to a female person is grammatically masc. However, an additional important factor is the influence of the phonological shape of the word on the gender to which it is assigned. Nouns ending in *-ion* and *-eß* are feminine, *die Lotion. die Hosteß*, (but *das Business*), those ending in *-ing*, *-ent* and the suffix *-in* are neuter, *das Doping*, *das Hearing*, *das Treatment*,, *das Management*, *das* Sit-in, and those in *-er* are masculine, *der Layouter*, *der Computer*. With monosyllabic inanimate nouns there is a great deal of arbitrary gender assignment since natural gender and phonological shape do not help us. The following examples from the *Fremdwörterbücher* of Wahrig, Knauer and the *Duden Großes Wörterbuch* illustrate this: *das Layout*, *das Limit*, *der Liquor*. *die Lobby*, *der Look*. *der Lunch*, *der Lag*, *der Lob* (in tennis), *die Lounge*, *das Lullaby*. Since the criteria for assigning gender are not clear, nouns may fluctuate in grammatical gender: *der/das Lasso*, *das/der Lockout*, *der/das Looping*. Carstensen (1980) shows how unreliable dictionary information on gender assignment may. Also there is no information in dictionaries about the frequency of the use of the different genders. Carstensen tested gender assignment with informants and found that the certainty of the gender of a noun depended on the degree of understanding of its meaning. This is an area where research can usefully be done.

Most English nouns form their pl. by adding *-s*, *Layouts*, *Looks*, *Lobs*, *Loopings*, but those ending in *-er* take no ending, as in German, *die Teenager*, *die Layouter*, *die Bestseller*. Some nouns such as *Sketsch*, *Lift*, have alternative pl. forms in *-e*, and in the case of *Toast* the two forms have, for some speakers at least, become separated in meaning, *Toaste* 'the slices of toasted bread' and *Toasts* 'the speeches and calls to drink at functions '. The pl. of *Boß* is *Bosse*. The feminine nouns in *-eß* add *-en* in the pl , *Stewardessen*, *Hostessen*. One of the effect of the English loans has been to increase the incidence of *-s* pl. nouns in German.

English verbs are more easily integrated and simply add *-en*, *kill* --> *killen*, *test* --> *testen*, *dope* --> *dopen* and are always conjugated like. weak (regular) verbs, *killte*, *gekillt*. The verb *babysitten*, however, is only used in the infinitive. The verb *recyclen* retains its English spelling when used in the past participle, *recycelt* or in other forms *recyclet*. Participle forms are used adjectivally, e.g. *pushende*, *gecharterten*. Most adjectives such as *smart*, *clever*, *cool*, *fair*, *postmodern* also present no problem since they simply take the appropriate endings, e.g. *ein faires Angebot* 'a fair offer'. Some adjectives do not inflect since they mostly occur in predicative position, e.g. *down*, *groggy*, *sexy*, *ladylike*, *live*.

3.4 Word Formation

Suffixes and prefixes have also been borrowed from English and new ones created by a reanalysis of English loans. A very widespread English prefix is *super-/Super-* which combines with adjectives or nouns, *superklug*, *superwasserdicht*, *Superbreitwand*, *Superspion*. Examples and a description of the meaning and distribution of this and the following affixes can be found in *Duden 10. Das Bedeutungswörterbuch* which lists 40 adjective and 30 noun forms. *Schulz/Basler* (1977-78) shows a steady increase of *super-/Super-* forms after 1945. There have been attempts to use a loan translation, über-/*Über-*, e.g. *Überspieler Pele*, but this has not caught on. The prefix *Ex-*, which is only added to nouns, is also very frequent and is added to both German and English nouns, *Ex-Minister*, *Ex-Gatte*, *Ex-Zuchthäusler* and now *Ex-DDR*. 32 such noun forms are listed in *Duden 10*. The semi-suffixes -bewußt and *-weit* are considered loan translations

of English '-conscious, -wide', *selbstbewußt* 'self-conscious', *weltweit*, 'world wide'. The semi-suffix *-bewußt* has also been productive in forming new words, *marketingbewußt, verteidigungsbewußt Duden 10* lists 34 forms), whereas -weit has been restricted to a few forms such as *bundesweit, DDR-weit, weltweit* which themselves are very frequently used. From the noun *das Musical* a morpheme *-ical* has been abstracted, although only productive for a limited length of time, and is used for new formations such as *Grusical* 'horror show', *Logical* 'puzzle (based on the rules of logic)', although some are often jocular nonce-forms like *Absurdical* 'absurd play', *Frostical* 'show on ice' (Carstensen 1985). The English agentive suffix *-er*, although present in German, has become used more frequently under English influence both for people, *Geldmacher, Discounter, Abrüster, Platzhalter* and also instruments, *Senkrechtstarter, Viertürer* (Carstensen 1965: 55-58).

The extent to which English loans have penetrated the vocabulary of German can be gauged by the large number of hybrid words that have been formed, i.e. words containing both an English and a German morpheme, e.g. *Jetflug, Bluttest*. In most cases these can be regarded as semi-loan translations where only one, instead of both members of a compound is translated. Some examples of these are: *Babyalter, Babyausstattung, Babyjahr, Babyrassel, Babywäsche, Diskountpreis, Nonstopflug, Supermarkt, Haarspray, Flugticket*. These forms are regarded as sufficiently German not to be found in *Fremdwörter* dictionaries but only in German dictionaries. Further evidence for the integration of English words into the German system of word formation is given by the fact that even a derivational German suffix such as *-in* for forming feminine nouns can be added to English words: *Layouterin, Bodybuilderin, Cutterin*. The English verbal particle *on* is rendered *an*, e.g. *anturnen* 'to be turned on (usually to drugs)'.

3.5 Changes in Meaning

While many English loans retain their English meaning after being borrowed into German, e.g. *Baby, Computer*, some have their meaning altered to a greater or lesser degree. The meaning of some words has been extended in German. The following examples are mainly drawn from Buck (1974) and Carstensen (1965). For instance *Bestseller* can be applied to anything that sells well and not only to books. The word

Boy has been extended from referring to a person, e.g. *Liftboy*, *Hotelboy*, to apply to things that can help the housewife, *Blumenboy*, *Schuhboy* (containers for flowers or shoes). On the other hand the meaning of some words has been narrowed. *Ticket*, for instance, applies mostly to air-tickets, although it can be used for entrance tickets. A narrowing in meaning normally takes place where there are other native words available in the same semantic area. The importation of English words helps to provide separate lexical items for specialized meanings, for instance *Song* 'a satirical song', *Hit* ' a successful piece of music', *Schlager* 'something popular at the moment, a song, film or play'. Coers (1979) investigated this word field and found a tendency for *Song* to be used not only for songs dealing with themes of politics and social critique but also for popular or sentimental songs. *Job* in German has come to mean 'temporary, short term employment' and stands in opposition to *Beruf* and *Stelle*. The connotations of English loans in German may be different from in English. The adjective *clever* usually has a pejorative sense of being 'cunning'. Sometimes the change in meaning does not seem to fit into any category, e.g. *der Flirt* in German is the action of 'flirting' and does not refer to a person. The term *in sein* means not simply to be 'fashionable', e.g. *Auslandsreisen sind jetzt in* 'Foreign trips are now "in"',but also 'to know about what is fashionable and "in"', e.g. *Ihr seid in, wenn*....'You are "in", if...'

3.6 Syntax

How far English has influenced German syntax is a difficult question. Carstensen (1965: 69-87) discusses thirteen areas of possible influence but is sceptical in many cases because there is a similar tendency in the internal development of German. Among the more well known cases are prepositional use such as *in 1991* for the usual *1991* or *im Jahre 1991* or the use of *für eine Woche* 'for a week' instead of *eine Woche lang*. There is certainly no question of English influencing the basic structure and patterns of German syntax.

4. Entrance and distribution of English loans

English loans were able to spread quickly in German because of the influence of the mass media, particularly through magazines like *Der Spiegel* which has been shown to have a special role Carstensen (1965: 22-25; 1971). However, although English loans are widely used in the

mass media it is difficult to ascertain exactly how widespread their use is among the general population.

Advertising, in the press, on television and on hoardings is another channel through which English loans have slipped into German. The motivation behind advertising is often to appeal to people's snobbish tendencies either so that they will buy a certain product or that they will apply for certain jobs. It is significant that the pseudo-loans *Dressman*, *Twen*, are inventions of the advertising industry. Most cosmetic terms are English: *Vanishing Cream. Deep Cleanser, Fluid Make-up.* Aviation is particularly strongly influenced by English. The international language of aviation is English and many of the jobs offered have English designations: *Ticketagent, Groundhosteß.* The younger generation are influenced by the predominant use of English as the language of pop and rock music: *Beatband, Rockmusik, Popmusik* (now accepted in German), *die LP, die Single, die CD, Slide-Gitarre, Instrumental-Vokal-Arrangements.* Since English is the first foreign language in schools young people are obviously very open to the importation of English words into their speech.

Many English loans belong to specialist languages and have found their way from there into the mainstream of the vocabulary: *Splitting* 'separate assessment of half of the joint income of a husband and wife for taxation purposes', *Countdown, Fallout, Software, Hardware.* The loans have permeated many fields of vocabulary in German and we will give a list with a few illustrations (some of these words were borrowed before 1945):

Political and public life: Appeasement, Disengagement, Hearing, Image;

Business and commerce, Boom, Clearing, Designer, Dumping, Leasing, Marketing, Safe, Trust;

Technology and science, Computer, Fading, Laser, Mikroprozessor Test;

Sport, Doping, fair, Foul, kicken Trainer, Fan, Champion, Team, Looping;

Fashion: Deodorant, Jumper, Look, Lotion, Make-up, Nylon Pullover, Slip, Spray, Tweed;

Food and drink, Chips, Long-, Shortdrink, Cocktail, Grapefruit, mixen, Sherry, Toast, Soft-Eis;

Entertainment, Bar, Comics, Festival. Gag, Happening, Musical, Party, Quiz, Show, Western.

5. Borrowing in other German-speaking countries

Not only West Germany but all the German speaking countries have been affected by English loans, even former East Germany, although not to the same extent. Pop music, sport and entertainment are the areas through which many English loans like *Feature, Sound, Evergreen, Poster, Single* penetrated into former East Germany Lehnert (1986) points out that English influence is not to be underestimated. Peculiar to former East German were some borrowings that came via Russian, e.g. *Dispatcher, Kombine, Meeting, Pressebriefing* and *Plattform* (for political views). Siegel (1989: 345 and 357) shows how the 18th Mannheim Duden has 603 English words (3.89%) and the 17th Leipzig Duden has 377 English words, which do, however, make up 3.74% of all the words. The absolute figures may differ but the percentages show that the influence of English on both West and former East Germany was considerable. Lehnert (1986: 147) points to some specifically East German coinings such as *Intershop, Interhotel, Plaste*. More understandably Austria and Switzerland have also been heavily affected by English borrowings (K. Viereck 1986; Dalcher 1986). In fact the language of sport in these two countries retains more English sporting term such as *Penalty, Corner*, which in West Germany have become *Elfmeter* and *Eckball*. In Austria K. Viereck found that the number of Anglicisms had increased greatly, both in a local Graz paper and *Die Presse* in a ten year period (1986: 163-68), particularly 'partial substitutions', i.e. loan translations, hybrid compounds. In the local Graz paper sport was the area most affected whereas in *Die Presse* it was advertisements and announcements which contained most Anglicisms. Dalcher (1986) found that in Switzerland the greater degree of education influenced the use and understanding of Anglicisms. The older loans tended to be those that were used more. The basic mechanisms of borrowing, types of integration of Anglicisms into German, the areas of the vocabulary which are affected tend to be similar in all German-speaking countries. A temporary difference was that the quantity of Anglicisms was perhaps not so great in absolute terms in former East Germany.

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